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## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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900 hospitals and clinics; 11 nations have made modest starts on tax reform, 12 others on land reform. But Moscow stills feels gloom. "We were just beginning to make real progress," he says, bitterly, "and now Congress has clothed us."

## SIGNAL TO CUBA

Like all foreign aid, the Alliance was hard hit when the House of Representatives recently chopped nearly \$1 billion from President Kennedy's original \$4.5 billion request for fiscal 1964. Despite earlier congressional authorization of \$600 million a year over a 4-year period, the House was now willing to allow only \$450 million for the Alliance. If the cut stands, says Moscow, the U.S. Government investment in all of Latin America next year will amount to little more than what Russia is pumping into Communist Cuba alone.

For many Latin Americans, the House action was interpreted as a vote of no confidence in the Alliance. Staunch supporters of the program felt abandoned, complained that the United States had not kept its word. Predictably, Fidel Castro's Havana radio gloated over the doomed Alliance. To make matters a little worse, the aid cut came just when, according to Moscow, the "objectives and principles of the Alliance are beginning to make an impact on the thinking of Latin Americans." Says Moscow: "I've tried to explain it to them, but I'm afraid that disenchantment with the Alliance has already set in. We've made commitments, and now we're going to have great difficulty in meeting them."

## HOUSES AND MEDICINE

By scraping up money from such sources as the Export-Import Bank and the Peace Corps, Moscow hopes to stretch out his budget for a while. But Alliance economists are busy figuring out scaled-down programs, even though there is a possibility that the Senate might reverse the House action. A \$180 million cutback could mean abandoning plans next year to build 10,000 classrooms and low-cost housing for some 175,000 people; it would cancel low-interest loans to 10,000 farmers for plows, seed, and fertilizer to escape subsistence-level farming; wipe out a plan for loans to 6,000 small businessmen to stimulate grassroots private enterprise; and force withdrawal of U.S. support for 60 mobile medical units which provide treatment for 2 million people in 800 Central American villages. And finally, it would prevent the U.S. food for peace program from expanding its operations to help feed some 6 million children throughout Latin America.

In the light of the Alliance's slow start and the widespread criticism of it, congressional impotence is understandable. But the danger is that a sharp cut in the aid funds might well, as Moscow warns, cause the United States to "lose the tenuous but specific initiative we have gained in Latin America during the last 2 years."

spilling innocent blood, and marking with incontestable infamy the Lord's Day.

God help a nation and its people subjected thus to the ravages of either individual or mass insanity.

The horrifying details of this atrocity do more than wring the heart. They shock and consternate; but they also awaken society to the deadly peril of malice gone completely berserk, and all humanity cries out in the voice of conscience to bring these culprits—agents of the Devil—to justice.

The intent of those who bombed a church, occupied by 400 Negro worshippers, could only have been wholesale murder. That it was for purposes of inciting terror—and visiting malevolence anew on a city otherwise slowly recovering from circumstances of racial turmoil—are facts adding sedition to the premeditated central crime.

The hand not only of that stricken city and State, but of every man, surely, is raised against the arch conspirator—or conspirators—known for the moment but to themselves and God. Justice cannot rest until they are identified, apprehended, tried, convicted, and punished to the full extent of the law.

Heaven help a land that is the prey to inescapable antagonisms, and marauders—irrespective of creed or color—boiling fbers of hate into explosions and carnage. As the consummation of that handiwork, the tragedy at Birmingham is exhibit A. And gazing at it, as the forerunner of more—if intelligence doesn't halt where it is the flame of a broadening catastrophe—public conscience stands appalled.

It is time that the citizens of this country realize that whites or others participating in the fringes of controversy, by whatever motivation, do nothing but provoke incidents of this sort.

It behooves every citizen, as well as those responsible for law enforcement as such in all its categories, to put a stop to everything that can inflame it; to cease playing to either side of it, and unite on the central purpose of Americanism, righteously conceived as the instrument of justice and public safety, under law and order.

Decent people know that hellraising speeches, demonstrations, etc., are not going to bring solution to the problems of the Negro; as this newspapers repeatedly has said, as an individual and minority race, used all too long as the pawn of white politicians and his own demagogic leadership.

The solution and changes sought can come only two ways: (1) By education, and (2) by changes in the hearts of the people.

Infuriating on the part of both races, politicians playing to present differences only add fuel to the flames that will consume more and more—including the innocents—unless reason acts to extinguish the sparks.

The message of the ever-present danger of a race riot is not a new one. It is a message of yesterday made it.

(From the Wall Street Journal, Sept. 17, 1963)  
TEST BAN TANGENT: CASE FOR THREAT BY  
TALK TO REDUCE DEFENSE OUTLAYS  
(By Jerry Landauer)

WASHINGTON.—The Kennedy administration's strong sales pitch for the nuclear test ban treaty is having an unintended effect in Congress: It is fueling the belief, still feeble but gaining, that defense spending can soon be reduced with safety.

To overwhelm Senate resistance to the treaty, administration spokesmen proclaim America's manifestly superior military strength and they vow to increase it in the years ahead. Even after absorbing a surprise first blow, they assert, the United States unquestionably can annihilate an aggressor.

All this has been said before, though perhaps not so categorically. What is new is the Defense Department's specific comparison of United States and Soviet might. The idea is to convince the public and Congress that the United States is so far ahead in nuclear weaponry that it can prudently relinquish the legal right to test nuclear devices in the atmosphere, in space, and underwater. As this conviction grows, receptivity to reducing defense outlays grows with it.

## THEORY OF OVERKILL

To Members of Congress who want to save defense dollars or divert them to domestic welfare programs, Defense Secretary McNamara's assurance of growing U.S. superiority in arms dovetails with the newly current theory of overkill—the proposition that the United States, if provoked, already has the firepower to destroy Russia many times over.

Chairman RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia, of the Senate Armed Services Committee thinks believers in overkill are gaining adherents in Congress and in the country. When the \$49 billion Defense Department budget reaches the Senate floor late this week or early next, Mr. RUSSELL expects a flanking operation intended to slash perhaps \$6 billion from defense appropriations.

Spending cuts of the magnitude mentioned by Mr. RUSSELL are inconceivable so long as he and other Members of Congress own defense establishment, senior members of the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees, continue backing the Pentagon. It's noteworthy, nevertheless, that for the first time Congress is seriously questioning in a coherent way the assumptions underlying defense spending.

This year, for the first time also, Congress has stopped pressing on an unwilling Defense Department more money for such programs as the RS-70 supersonic bomber.

## INITIAL IMPACT

Though the test ban treaty may well fortify the budget-cutters in the long run, the immediate impact surely will expand rather than shrink defense spending. To overcome uncertainties about the blast resistance of U.S. missile sites (that might be resolved in more widely dispersed and more may be dug. Stepped-up underground testing (the Atomic Energy Commission budget assumed fewer

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way with their program, Congress must be at fault. Certainly it would never occur to a left-liberal that he could be wrong.

So the thing to do is to attack the Congress, make it appear weak, futile, reluctant, negative; demand that its constituencies be redistricted, that it be reorganized, that its committees be packed and reconstituted, that its rules be changed.

All this, of course, not to the end of really improving Congress, but of compelling it to abdicate its responsibilities and accept the big-spender, big-debt program which the left-liberals are determined to force through. Watch for it. The word has gone out: Congress defends itself.

## REFORM IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, recently there was published in the Journal of Commerce a very thoughtful editorial on a report by the Statistics Subcommittee—of which I am chairman—of the Joint Economic Committee. The report deals with reform in the Federal budget. I believe the editorial is an excellent assessment of the recommendations made in that report. I also feel that the editorial is indicative of a general feeling, both among the press and among citizens generally, concerning the present usefulness of the Federal budget. I was impressed by the fact that the Journal editorial indicates that they had "muddled over this subcommittee report in spare time for several days."

I think there is general concern about the nature and the usefulness of our budget materials. This editorial is a good explanation of that concern.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York (N.Y.) Journal of Commerce, Aug. 16, 1963]

## WHAT WENT DOWN WHICH DREAM?

The budget of the United States is much more than an imperfect document or even guideline; it has become so complex that not even Congressmen who have to vote for or against appropriations have any intelligent guide as to what has been previously appropriated and for how many Government agencies. Reform has been loudly called for and for many years.

Now a Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee headed by Senator WILLIAM PROXMIER has come up with a blueprint for reform, and the report is largely the work of the committee's economist, Roy E. MOORE, who has lived with this thing for a long time. Some of the recommendations have merit. Others will vastly increase the detailed documentation, and greatly to the work of the

The dilemma of a Member of Congress on these things is illustrated by a citation from testimony at a subcommittee hearing which tells of how one Congressman postponed an appropriation for education purposes in 1961 because he had discovered that educational activities involving expenditure were scattered through 9 different Government departments and were also in 23 programs in 11 other agencies.

No one in the Government really knew what the total figure was, what overlapped what and what, if any, the overall end result or accomplishment had been.

Congress is entitled to know, but usually does not, what may be expected from a grant of expenditure authority, to what use the funds will be put, what previous expenditures have accomplished and how much is left for future outlays. Do the Government agencies really know what they are doing? If they do they should be able to provide the Budget Bureau with more intelligent guidelines for Congress. If they don't know, and we suspect many do not, then it is high time for them to learn.

There is also a good point made by this Proxmire committee in saying there is no reason why, as in any private business, budget estimates of both receipts and expenditures could not be frequently revised and continually made available to Congress. Projection could be made as far as 5 years ahead; variables could be kept under control by frequent revisions.

What stands out, in our opinion (and we have muddled over this subcommittee report in spare time for several days), is that four times in its text it cites with approval what the Defense Department has been doing in close control of its own expenditures and projections.

It is hardly surprising that former big businessman Robert S. McNAMARA should have a better grasp of budget matters than some other bureaucrats and can do just as well with his past results and future projections as can, for example, the pad-and-pencil-carrying expert, Douglas Dillon, the Secretary of the Treasury—who has to cash the checks.

Mr. McNAMARA has already developed the program approach. It has established budgetary forecasts on a 5-year basis, updated monthly. It requires regular reporting from all who do business with it on work in process and costs, with the costs broken down.

The report of the Proxmire subcommittee is worth study, especially since it has been reviewed by such eminent Senators as PAUL H. DOUGLAS of Illinois, J. W. FULBRIGHT of Arkansas, and THOMAS B. CONNOR of Missouri. The committee expressly states that its report is not to be a 1-day wonder, but will be followed by more, hewing to the same line and making plenty of ships fly.

Getting back to where we started, it is absurd, and as reprehensible, for Congress to add to the confusion of the people by not knowing what has previously been appropriated for the same or related projects.

Birmingham church, and the resultant death of four children.

The letter is sensitive, thoughtful, and concise. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## RACIAL SICKNESS

As I read of the bombing to death of Sunday School children in a Birmingham church it was almost impossible not to weep. My own winsome grandchildren were in a similar school at the same hour, also learning about Jesus' teachings such as "love your neighbor as yourself," and "suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." The fearsome loss could have been to those nearest and dearest to me, or to anyone.

My chief immediate reaction is, I think, that I and all Americans are challenged anew to enlist with men of good will, of any race, to think and struggle harder and more effectively to cure a horrible racial sickness which has been tolerated for so long that it now threatens the basic fabric of our fair land.

To replace hatred with love constitutes a mammoth task, but to work hard at it might truly help restore the moral and spiritual health of many individuals and institutions.

HARRY L. KINGMAN.

WASHINGTON

## ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS — AN ADEQUATE ALTERNATIVE TO CASTROISM

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, on several occasions I have indicated my displeasure with certain facets of our foreign aid program. One's attention certainly tends to be drawn to those aspects of any legislative program which do not appeal, and we tend to take for granted those portions which do.

Certainly, the Alliance for Progress is one which, in its conception and in the context of the obstacles which it faces, has, in less than 2 years of actual operation, accomplished much which entitles it to our continued support.

An article appearing in the September 20 issue of Time magazine points out the accomplishments of the Alliance for Progress, and the necessity for full support for the battle against communism which we are waging in this hemisphere. An adequate alternative to Castroism is offered through the Alliance for Progress, and the progress that we have made cannot be lost at this critical juncture.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article